

Polit. Pamph. No. 112.

PUBLIC DISCONTENT

Accounted for, from the

CONDUCT

OF OUR

MINISTERS in the Cabinet,

AND OF OUR

GENERALS in the Field:

WHEREIN

Proper OBSERVATIONS are made on the late
Ministerial *Apology*, intitled, *Faction Detested, &c.*

To which is added, by Way of APPENDIX,

The Convention between Queen Anne and the Elector
of Hanover, in 1702 for Mercenaries, by which
it appears, from the Calculations in this Work,
that 306,266*l.* Sterling might be saved to the Na-
tion in the late Bargain for 16000 *Hanoverians.*

Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Quem vocet Divum populus ridentis

Imperi rebus? ——————

HOR.

L O N D O N :

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(Price One-Shilling.)

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Accounted for, from the
Conduct of our *Ministers* in the *Cabinet*,
and of our *Generals* in the *Field*.

IT being asked of the Philosopher BIAS, *what was hard to bear courageously*, he answered, *a Change when it proves to be for the worse*. I confess, I did not, for a long Time, perfectly comprehend the Poignancy of this Answer; but of late I am thoroughly convinced of its Weight and Significancy: And so, I believe, are all the Nation.

While the late Minister presided, I was of that Number who believed not only, that public Affairs had never been worse conducted, but that the ministerial Reins could never be committed to more corrupt or less skilful Hands: And in this Opinion, I was but one of Millions; it was almost universally received; yet still was not the Conclusion the less erroneous for being general. We were all of us most certainly in Error; for

Experience, which is uncapable of Deception, as being the Fountain of Truth, hath convinced us, and that to the Cost of the whole Nation, that a Change may be from bad to worse.

But how came the general Delusion ? How came the Nation to suppose that others would not bow to the Idol *Power* as well as the late Minister ? Did they suppose he had so far ingrossed the Court Iniquities to himself, that none would be left for his Successors ? Strange ! that a People should be so credulous after having had repeated Experience of the Depravity of Ministers. But without interrogating others, let me answer for myself, who had been no less credulous than the Multitude that believed the late Minister could not be equall'd, much less exceeded in Corruption and Misconduct.

I own then, and take Shame to myself for my Credulity, that I looked upon the *new Comers*, whilst they joined in the Opposition to the late Minister, as so many Angels of Light ; as political Apostles to preach the true Doctrine of Liberty, and as Reformers to correct the Abuses of the Cabinet, and reform all the Servants of the Crown. Their Declamations, their private Conversations, and Writings, had so much of Truth and Merit, and so much the Air of Sincerity, that they were irresistible ; they were intirely captivating ; at least they were so to me. All which they acted, spoke, or wrote,

had

had so much the Appearance of Truth and Virtue, whilst they opposed, that it was impossible to resist the Charm. But, alas! of their Actions, Speeches and Writings I was a Judge, but could be none of the Heart.

The Contrast between the past and present Conduct of these seducing Agents, puts me in Mind of a Fable I had read in an old Author relating to a Contest between three of the Heathen Deities.—*Minerva*, says he, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan*, disputing one Day among themselves about the Greatness of their Art, and the Wonders they could perform; *Neptune* immediately, for Trial sake, produced a Bull, *Minerva* a Horse ready accoutred, and *Vulcan* a Man. They agreed that *Momus* should be judge of their Contest. He diligently survey'd them all; what Faults he found in the two first are needless to mention, but he said there was one in the new-made Man; which was, that *Vulcan* ought certainly to have set *Windows* to his Breast, that so it might be plain to every one, what he desired, what he thought, and whether he spoke Truth or not.

I am thinking if there were such *Windows* as these in some modern Breasts, what a Sight would be presented to all innocent, deluded Spectators? What a Reproach it would be to Humankind to look into Minds, where Ambition, Avarice, Deceit and Guile preside; where the Names and Distinctions of Things are chang'd, and the common Notices

tices of Good and Evil are lost. If *Momus* had the finishing of certain *Men* at present in Power, the People, instead of abetting their Opposition to the late Minister, had undoubtedly prayed, like the *Syracusan* of Old, for the Continuance of his Ministry. But for want of such Lights, they, and I as earnestly as any one, prayed for a Change, which they most heartily repent them of.

But as there is scarce any *Evil* but may be productive of some *Good*, it is not unnatural to suppose that some Benefit may accrue to the Nation from the late *Deception* of those they had supported for want of those *pectoral Windows* mentioned above, by Means of which their Insincerity might have been detected. 'Tis possible that repeated ill Usage and Insincerity may at last awaken an indolent People to Care and Circumspection in the Choice of their Leaders: 'Tis reasonable to think they will look back on the Actions of those they had most confided in, at least in their own Memory; and that, if they find Cause, they will repent them of the too great Confidence they had reposed, and seek out a new Choice of *Guardians* that have at least the Advantage of never having deceived. If it be found that one Set of Men have constantly made a Property of the Public, and have raised and ingratiated themselves at the Expence of the Nation, surely common Prudence should direct us to try Men as yet untinctured.

The

The Court Sycophants, who build upon supporting themselves by the Support of Party Distinctions, will probably arraign me of being an Advocate for *Torism*, by advising the Support of an Opposition to those that have lately deceived us, and by inculcating the Necessity of changing Hands. I would have them know, that I abhor Distinctions as much as I ardently wish to see a Coalition of the best Men of all Parties. The present Generation have nothing to do with the Principles of their Ancestors, supposing such Principles to have been destructive of Liberty ; and the *Revolution* is an everlasting Proof of the true Principles of those who had been invidiously distinguished by the Name of *Tories*. Even so long ago as King *William's* Reign, when scarce any of the present Generation was capable of distinguishing the Nature of Principles, and very few of them had a Being, the *Whigish* Principles of the nominal *Tories* was admitted and proclaimed by the most discerning and accurate Writers of those Days.—

' The *Tories*, says Doctor *D'Avenant*, by taking Arms to defend their *civil Rights*, and by joining to depose that Prince, by whom those Rights were violated, have in the most public Manner, renounced their Doctrine of *Jus Divinum*, *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. '—A Doctrine, which may have been preached, but which, most certainly,

tainly, never had been practiced, nor never will by reasonable Agents.

Designing Men, such as the Author of a late ministerial * *Soporifick*, and his Patrons, may always have, and always will run Divisions on the Difference of our Parties and Principles for bad Purposes; but I verily believe there is not a single Man of common Understanding in the Nation, who is not thoroughly and sincerely of the *Whiggish* Party and Principle, if by *Whiggism* is meant a Desire of living *Free* and Independent of all Incroachment of Power inconsistent with the *Freedom* admitted by the Constitution.

I have been often puzzled to find my Brethren, the *Whigs*, whom I honour on the Score of Principle, as being that of Nature, acting contrary to that Principle they profess; at the same Time that the *Tories*, to whom slavish Principles are imputed, have acted on the true Principles of Liberty and Nature. I have often been at a Loss how to account for the Conduct of *Whigs* ever since the *Revolution* with regard to the *Court*, but particularly with regard to a *standing Army*. Throughout all King *William's* Reign, I find them, upon the most credible Authority, to have been constant Advocates for a *standing Army*, in Opposition to the *Tories* that were as warm against any. I am sensible that the *Tory* Opposition, in those Days, was said to be founded more on a *secret*

* *Faction Detected by Evidence of Facts, &c.*

cret Attachment to the Interest of the banish'd *King* than the Principles of Liberty: But I could never see any Colour for such an invidious Imputation. Besides, who but the *Whigs* in Power, who, the better to exclude all but themselves from the Emoluments of Preferment, had raised the Jealousy of the Court and Nation against the virtuous Opponents of those Days? Is not the same Art practised at present by the *Whigs* in Power? Is not the late voluminous Ministerial *Pamphlet*, already mentioned, published with the same Views, and for the same Purposes? The present Ministers, sensible of the publick *Discontent* from their own Misconduct, endeavour to prevent the ill Effects of the general *Uneasiness* with regard to themselves, by painting the Opposition to their Measures in the most odious Colours; Colours which subsist in their Imaginations only. Thus the Ministry hope to divert the Storm gathering against themselves, and which they dread may burst upon them soon, if the People support the present *Opposition*, as they did that to the late Minister.—But to resume the Subject of the *Tory* Opposition in King *William's* Reign.

It is notorious to all the World, that the *Revolution* was less owing to the *Whigs*, so denominated, than to the nominal *Tories*; I call them nominal, because they certainly were true *Whigs* in Principle. To suppose then that the same Men that had concerted and

brought about the *Revolution*, would be the first to destroy it, would be such a Solecism in Politicks as was never known in the World: Therefore I must conclude, that those who had opposed a *standing Army* in that Reign were *Whigs* in Principle, however they may have been called; and that, on the contrary, those who were Advocates for a large Body of *standing Forces*, *Anticipations* and *Penal Laws*, were *Tories* in Principle, however they may have cloathed themselves with the Appellation of *Whigs*.

Before I consulted living Witnesses of undoubted Veracity, and the most discerning and impartial Writers and Annalists of our *Deliverer's Reign*, I confess myself to have been prejudized against the principal Opponents to the Measures of that great Prince's Cabinet: But I own I have entirely altered my Opinion, on a thorough Conviction that they opposed upon the sacred Principles of Liberty, which teach an Abhorrence of a *standing Army*, ever warmly contended for during that whole Reign, as well as the late and the present. That this unnatural Contention for a *standing Army*, was by nominal *Whigs*, in that Reign, is as uncontestedly true, as that our *standing Army* since the Accession of the present Royal Family, which cost us above thirty-five Millions, has all along been opposed by the nominal *Tories*.

I had the highest Veneration for the Memory of a late Nobleman, for having projected the *Re-coinage*

coinage of our Gold and Silver Specie in that Reign; but being convinced, on indisputable Authority, that he had been one of the first that had projected and warmly endeavoured the continuing an Army during that Reign, I own he has entirely lost my Esteem, as he must of all good *Englishmen*. I could forgive him the *Partition Treaty*, and being Author of anticipating our *Funds*, though both have been essentially injurious to the Nation; but I shake Hands with all Complaisance, and even with Charity, in Regard to the Man that shall draw up and enforce Schemes of Slavery and abject Submission.

My Lord *H*——*x*, no doubt, pleaded the Vicinity and Power of *France*, and a strong Party for the exiled *King*, as Reasons for keeping up a *standing Army*: But was ever a Minister at a Loss for a Pretext? Did ever a Ministry want a Colouring for their Schemes or Actions? Did they ever fail of creating pretended Dangers, or plunging their Master into specious Difficulties, on purpose to have a Pretext for strengthning his Hands, the better to gain his Confidence?

How was it with the late Minister, who often publickly avowed to have repos'd an entire Confidence in his Brother Minister, the late *Cardinal Fleury*? He had no Dread of the Vicinity and Power of *France*, being sensible that Crown had no Views to the Interest of the *Pretender*, because the placing of that Prince on this Throne would not be for the

Interest of *France*, as a late created *Peer* had often asserted during his Opposition to that Minister; but yet, though he had no such Apprehension, he was never at a Loss for other Pretexts for keeping up not only a *standing Army*, but our Debts and Taxes also.

But however the late Minister and his Successors, our present Patriot Guardians, agree in the End, they differ widely in the Means. He strengthened his Master's Hands with a *standing Army*, so do they; he kept up our Debts and Taxes, so do they, and outdo him in Ministerial Complaisance, by encreasing both the Army and the National Debt: The End therefore is answered by both alike, but the Means with the late Minister was solely a *defensive* Scheme, with our present Statesmen 'tis all *offensive*. Sensible that the World would laugh at them, did they make the Power of *France* and the *Pretender*, whom *France* never designed to obtrude upon us, as not being her Interest, the Pretences of their encreasing our Army and Debts; they renew an obsolete Maxim, exploded for many Centuries, that is, to make Conquests upon *France*. Though we want our *Edwards* and *Henries*, a *Black Prince* and a *Talbot*, they say we have a *G—e*, a *Duke*, and many doughty *Hanoverian Knights*, that shall make *Louis* and his Caperers scamper.

If we don't assent implicitly to this conquering Scheme, if we doubt the Heroism of our

our *Hanoverian* Mercenaries, if we say that as many *English* might be spared from home, and that they were not less qualified for Conquest; in short, if we attempt dissenting with our Warlike Ministry in their Views of Conquest, or rather in their Views of *making Court to the Passions of* —, at the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of this Nation, flap comes *Dettingen* to be flung into our Teeth. — † ‘ In fine, a full Answer to all this Trash and Ribbaldry is contained in one Word, *Dettingen*, which, had they their Deserts, should be branded in the Forehead of every Member of the Faction.’ — No more let *Englishmen* vaunt of their Victories at *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, *Blenheim*, *Rameillies*, or *Mons*, but echo to the Antipodes the more glorious *Escape* at *Dettingen*.

It is a little hard, however, that a free-born Subject shall not dare doubt the Rectitude of the Measures of the Ministry, the Servants of the Publick, but he shall be threatened to be branded in the Forehead. As no Creature more arrogant and insulting than a proud, ambitious *Priest*, I am inclined to believe that this Heap of Rubbish is of *spiritual Extraction*. I am sensible it has already been bequeathed to two noble Lords, whom I am willing to acquit of being the Authors, though not of being the Directors and Supervisors. The youngest of the

† *Faction Detected*, Page 117. Ed. 2.

the Noblemen, though he has Vanity, has not Ability to wave up so large a Piece of Fustian ; and the oldest, though he has Ability, is too indolent to go through, or even undertake so laborious a Task. I chuse then to rely upon my Book-seller's Information, who assures me 'tis the genuine Offspring of a certain *Divine* not far from the Scent of the Court, who would willingly exchange the Doctor's *Cap* for the Bishop's *Mitre* : And indeed, to examine the Production attentively, the cringing, fawning *Levite* appears visibly in every Page. Besides, none but a drudging spiritual Pedant could trudge thro' so long and dirty a Road.

There is no Reptile can creep lower than a *Priest*, when his Heart is ingrossed with Pride and Corruption. Witness this flattering Author. How fulsome his Adulation ! how nauseous his Flattery with regard to the new Ministry, and particularly the *Hanoverians* and their Prowess ! How are the Chimes rung upon the Word *Dettingen* ! What else but to cajole and flatter for a *Mitre* could induce him to insult a whole People, by insisting they shou'd not attempt obtaining any new Laws in Favour of Liberty, having already more than they need, and to asperse the loyalest Citizens in the Nation ? The Insult and Impudence of his Narrative of the Instructions of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* (P.101.) to their Representatives before the last Session of Parliament, are scarce to be parallel'd

lel'd in Print, *Plutarch* tells us, that the Philosopher *Bias*, already mentioned, being asked, What Animal he thought was the most hurtful? replied, ' That of wild Creatures, ' a *Tyrant*; and of tame ones, a *Flatterer*.' And let me add, that of all *Flatterers*, the *spiritual* are the most noxious. Has this *Flatterer* never heard of a blunt, but very significant Saying of a late honest *Whig*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, viz. That there is *nothing in Court-Preferments* worth being a *Knave* for?

I would beseech this Reverend Journeyman and his *Patrons*, to reflect attentively on the Truth and Poignancy of this trite Saying. They already feel the Effects of the Inobser-
vation of that wholesome Lesson; they can perceive the Affections of the Publick hourly withdrawing from them; and should they persevere in continuing K—s for *Prefer-
ments*, they must expect to be punished, by being overwhelmed with the Torrent of the People's Resentment, as *Incendiaries* are in *Muscovy*, by being placed under a Spout of cold Water, which falls from a great Height upon them without ceasing. As for the Reverend *Incendiary*, who has, by this libellous Work, inflamed the Nation more than it has been known since the *Revolution*, I should not be sorry to see him under the aforesaid *Rus-
sian Execution*, the rather that it would bear some Relation to the Nature of his Offence. He who attempts, as this Writer does, to re-
vive

vive Party-Distinctions, to brand them with the odious Appellation of *Jacobites*, for opposing a misguiding Ministry, to insult the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* for instructing their Representatives in Parliament, to insult the whole People for feeling their Miseries, and that the Crown acquires new Strength daily, whilst they grow hourly weaker; for him, I say, who endeavours, as he does, to inflame the People, to mock, debase and insult them, no Correction can be properer than *Cooling*.

Before I drop my Pen, I intend to examine the *Doctor* more minutely; perhaps, by feeling his Pulse, we may find him in a high Fever, which will justify my *Cooling* Prescription: But, for the present, let us try our nominal *Whigs* and nominal *Tories* by their different Conduct since the *Accession*. Be it always understood, that *Whigs* are no longer *Whigs* than whilst they assert the Liberties of the People, restrain all Encroachments of the Crown, endeavour to prevent and punish *Corruption* in all the Officers under the Crown, insist upon National Enquiries, promote Trade, encourage Industry, National and Private Parcimony, discourage a *standing Army*, additional Debts and Taxes, and all Attempts to secure the People's Affections, by tying them down with a perpetual Mortgage on their Fortunes. These are some of those Tests by which a true *Whig* is known: All who act another

another Part are nominal *Whigs* only, and merit not the Consideration or Esteem of an honest Man or Lover of his Country.

Be it likewise always understood, that the nominal *Tory* is a real *Whig*, if he opposes all Increase of Power or Influence in the Crown, espouses openly the Interest of the People, prefers the Interest of *England* to that of *H——r*, and promotes every Law for the Ease and Security of the Subject. He who does this, and opposes all Measures calculated chiefly for creating Expence, keeping up a *Land-Force*, and for aggrandizing the *Electorate*, at the Expence of these Nations; he, I say, is an honest Man, a Friend to his Country, and a true *Whig*, though invidiously branded with *Dettingen* in the Fore-head, or called a *Tory* by a false *Whig*. Even this pretended *Whig*, the Reverend Author of *Faction Detected*, &c. admits that the *Tories* are Nominal only. * ' And many of them, sensible of the Errors of their former Conduct, retained nothing of what they were but the Name.' — I wish we could not say of the Court *Whigs*, that they retain nothing of what they ought and profess'd to be but the Name.

Immediately after telling us, that many of the *Tories* retained nothing of *Torism* but the Name, he adds, what is worthy of the most serious Attention of the whole People: *The whole Nation*, says he in the same Paragraph, *appeared united in a warm Attachment to the present Royal Family*. — We will pass

over the Contradiction of saying else where, *That the present Opposition consists of Jacobites and Tories, that have constantly opposed and thought all Ministers wrong since the Accession.* Contradiction, Tautology and Prolixity, are but *Piccadilloes* in a voluminous Writer, such as the *Doctor*.

But let us examine how a Nation, who *appeared united in a warm Attachment to the present Royal Family*, came by Degrees to be disunited, and even discontented. We won't presume to impute any such Disunion or Discontent to the Royal Family; for, as by our Laws our Kings can do no Wrong, if there has been any committed since the *Accession*, it must have been by Ministers only. Wherefore we are bound, in some Measure, to a cursory Retrospection of our Affairs since the *Accession*, for the Sake of Justice to our real Friends, and to distinguish them from our false ones.

I need be the less prolix in this Examine, since this very Writer assures us, that the true Interest of this Country had not been pursued neither in the late or present Reign, till his Patrons came to manage it. † ' But then (meaning the obtaining particular Laws for the Security of Liberty and humbling *France*) were secondary Views, the great Point intended (*by the late Opposition*) and what these were employed only as Engines to attain, was to remove the Minister

'ster (this, without Doubt, was a principal Point) and to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Interest.)'—Here then have we the *Doctor's* Word that our Measures have been wrong since the *Accession*: Need we any better Proof to justify the Opposition of the nominal *Tories*, since that happy Period, when the *whole Nation appeared united in a warm Attachment to the present Royal Family*?

But if, by general Consent, and of this Writer in particular, it is admitted, *that the true Interest of this Country had never been pursued since the Accession*, how were the nominal *Tories* to blame for opposing Ministers that had constantly sacrificed the true Interest of their Country to that of a *foreign Concern*, very foreign indeed to this Nation? After what an Author, so distinguished for *Candour* and *Veracity*, as the *Doctor*, says of Corruption and Misconduct in the late Administration, and even in the former, I might be excused going into a Deduction of Facts to prove the Rectitude of the nominal *Tory* Opposition to all Ministers since the *Accession*: But as every Man who publickly addresses to the People, is obliged to pay that Respect and Deference to his Readers, as to indulge their Curiosities at the same Time he justifies his own Assertions, I shall not content myself barely with what the *Doctor* says of the constant Sacrifice made of the Interest of this poor Country, but shall, by a short Recapi-

tulation of Transactions of Moment, shew, that he, whether nominally *Whig* or *Tory*, could be no true *Englishman*, much less a true Patriot, or honest Man, who had not opposed all Measures destructive of the true Interest of these Nations.

In a free Government, such as ours, the Interest of each Individual, and consequently the general Interest, ought to be regarded; nay, it would be regarded, if the Constitution had not been abused. Our Freedom depends upon our Choice of a House of Commons, who have the sole Power of granting Money. He who keeps the Purse, will keep the Family in Awe, and virtuous too, if he remains uncorrupted himself. If that House be a true Representative, and free from Corruption, or, as Mr. Trenchard calls it, ' *External Force* or *Private Bribery*, nothing could pass then but what they thought was for the publick Advantage; for their own Interest is so interwoven with the People's, that if they act for themselves (which every one of them will do as near as he can) they must act for the common Interest of *England*; and if a few among them should find it their Interest to abuse their Power, it will be the Interest of all the rest to punish them for it; and then our Government would act mechanically, and a *Rogue* will as naturally be hanged as a Clock strike twelve when the Hour comes. This is the Fountain-head from whence the People expect all

all their Happiness, and the Redress of their Grievances ; and if we can preserve them free from Corruption, they will take Care to keep every body else so.'—The Sequel will shew how *uncorrupted* the Majority of our Representatives have been since the *Accession*, to the present Parliament ; for all the Measures of the Cabinet have constantly had the Sanction of the Legislature : And the following Quotation from the Report of the late Secret Committee, will evince the Power of a Ministry from the Collection and Disposition of publick Money to corrupt that *Fountain* of all our Happiness.—Speaking of the extravagant Expence of the late Minister to carry the last Election for the Borough of *Weymouth*, it concludes :

To such notorious Attacks as these upon the Freedom of Elections, your Committee apprehend are owing the great, and possibly unwarrantable Expences that particular Persons may have been drove to engage in. Some Expences the Laws allow, by regulating the Manner of them ; and those who engage in illicite Expences, are subject to heavy penal Laws ; but there are none particularly adapted to the Case of a Minister, who clandestinely employs the Money of the Publick, and the whole Power and profitable Employments that attend the collecting and disposing of it against the People ; and by this Profusion and criminal Distribution of Offices, in some Measure justifies the Expence that particularly

lar Persons are obliged to be at, by making it necessary to the Preservation of all that is valuable to a free Nation: For, in that Case, the Contest is plain and visible. It is, Whether the Commons shall retain the third State in their own Hands, whilst this whole Dispute is carried on at the Expence of the People, and, on the Side of the Minister, out of the Money granted to support and secure the constitutional Independency of the three Branches of the Legislature?

This Method of Corruption is as sure, and therefore your Committee apprehends as criminal a Way of subverting the Constitution as by an armed Force, &c.

Here we see what our very Representatives themselves think of the Virtue of the *Fountain-head*, whence, according to Mr. Trenchard, all our Happiness is to flow, and whence alone our Happiness can possibly flow: Yet how has the grand *Corruptor* of this sacred *Fountain-head* escaped being punished for attempting to subvert, nay, for actually subverting the Constitution whilst he was in Power? How shall I be able to answer this Interrogatory, without having Recourse to Corruption in some Shape or other? But the Reverend *Detector of Faction* tells us, (Page 129.) That the Publick, if they are not blinded, ought and will see, that the further Success of an Enquiry into the Corruption of Lord Orford is an impracticable Thing.—'Tis honest to tell us so before-hand, however: But what renders it impracticable? Is it not that

Senie.

Something which always disturbs and pollutes the Fountain-head of our Happiness.

The *Doctor* does not only assure us, that it is not intended to punish the late Minister, but that the People are not to expect any thing else to secure them from the Effects of Corruption for the Time to come. This, I confess, is by far an honester Part than his Patrons acted whilst they opposed the late Minister. They told us we could never be happy without a comprehensive *Place-Bill*, a *Pension-Bill*, and without the Repeal of the *Septennial Act*, besides many more fine Things they would do for us if we did help them to unsaddle the Minister.—Now the *Doctor* fairly tells us the Truth. Whether or no he was directed to tell us, that we are not to expect the Performance of the Promises formerly made to us by his *Patrons*, I cannot say; but I could wish, since there were no *Windows in their Breasts*, they had directed him, or some other Reverend Drudge, to give this honest Information a few Years ago. If they had, 'tis probable we might have exchanged our *Leaders*; which, I am sure, as they have managed, would not be for the worse.

' Can any Man (says the Reverend *Tell-Truth*, p. 131.) justify this delusive Enter-tainment of the Multitude, with Projects, which in his Soul he knows *impracticable*, and which, if *practicable*, are undoubtedly both of the *nicest Nature* and of *very dangerous and uncertain Operation*, from the un-
foreseen

• foreseen *Consequences* that attend all great
 • Alterations in the Government of all Coun-
 • tries.'—Strange! that his Patrons could
 not see these *Consequences*, and these *Dan-
 gers*, whilst they were hunting the late Mi-
 nister for his Spoil !

But, to wave the *Perfidy of making Pro-
 mises with an Intent never to perform them*,
 where would be the Danger of returning to
 the old Constitution of *Triennial Parliaments*,
 excluding most of the *Tools* of a Ministry
 from Seats in Parliament, and preventing
 Corruption by Means of *Pensions*? Is it ima-
 gined the People would rise in Rebellion if
 these Points had been gained for them?—I
 should think the contrary Supposition far
 more natural, inasmuch as Love of Liber-
 ty inclines Man to resist, in order to obtain
 that which he looks upon to be essential to-
 wards the securing his *Freedom* against the
 Power of the Crown and Corruption of a
 wicked Ministry.

It is amazing that an Author, who, at
 every Turn, insults and abuses the People,
 should yet have so much Regard for them as
 to tell them plainly what they are not to ex-
 pect. There must be some dishonest Meaning
 in this Show of Candidness; for modern Cour-
 tiers are seldom honest without Design. Sup-
 pose then he should hope to prevent an Op-
 position next Session, by letting the People
 know before-hand, that all Opposition to gain
 the *Points* they have in View is vain and
 fruitless;

fruitless ; that it is resolved they shall not obtain them, and more, that it was never intended they should obtain them. Why might it not fare with a People in Despair, as with a Soul in the same Circumstances ? The latter will make no Efforts to be saved, because her *Despair* persuades her that she is predestinated to be d—'d ; nor, according to the Doctor's Scheme, ought the People to oppose for that which they are assured they never will obtain, from their present Directors at least.

If the Doctor had not given us this positive Assurance, I should believe it was not intended, by those who promised, with a determin'd Intention not to perform, to give the People what they had a Right to demand and expect, because every such Security to their *Liberties*, is looked upon by thorough-paced Courtiers to be a Diminution of the regal and ministerial Power. But our Comfort is, that a well-conducted, unanimous Opposition may bring about another ministerial *Revolution*, which may be more favourable to the just Demands of an injured People.—Sir *William Temple* observes, that Monsieur *De Wit* was used to tell him, ‘ that ever since the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there had been such a Fluctuation of Councils in *England*, they could not be depended upon two Years together.’—From which Remark however, we may draw this good Conclusion ; that when we are in the

Wrong, we shall not continue so for ever; but may justly hope, from De Wit's Observation, to be right again in a Year or two.

I mentioned this old Observation of the Fluctuation of our Counsels, purely to prevent my Countrymen from falling into *Despair*, the Snare laid for them by the would-be Prelate: For from more modern Experience, we may learn the direct contrary. The late Minister presided above twenty Years against the Grain of the Nation; and should the present preside half as long, the Lord deliver us: But let us console ourselves with what the *Doctor* himself tells us (pag. 133.) *That it appears that the People are still able to remove a bad Minister, and to force a Change of Measures, whenever it becomes the universal Sense, that the Minister and the Measures are really wrong.*—I hope the Author's putting the Word Minister in the singular Number, will make no Difference; for if the People have the Power to remove one, surely they can't want it to remove more Ministers. Nay, the Doctor assures us, in the same Page, *that the Power of the popular Interest is incontestible.* If it be so, there is room to hope that the People may be able to root out a Ministry they detest for their Perfidy, and force a Change of Measures they don't like, sooner than the Doctor would wish: And, for this Reason, I would advise him to put in for the first vacant See, for fear of a more sudden Revolution of Ministers than

than he may expect. Let him wear any *Mitre*, no matter how little valuable; when once he has it on, he is in the high Road of *Translation*; and in the mean while, he may keep *St. M*—’s in *Commendum*, as his Neighbour has *St. J*—’s.

My earnest Desire of giving good Advice to my fellow Labourer, the Doctor, has carried me a little out of the Way; but the Reader will excuse an Act of Gratitude which my Brother Scribe’s Candidness required at my Hands. In return for his Honesty in telling the Public that his *Patrons* never intended when they promised most earnestly, nor would do any Thing * for a People heated and inflamed with *Passion*, a giddy and unshinking *Multitude*; I say, in return for so great Sincerity, the least I could do was to advise him to make his Harvest whilst the present ministerial Sun shines. But before I part with him on this Subject, I cannot in Justice to his Merit stifle any Thing that would help to illustrate his Character for *Honesty*, *Candour* and *Truth*; these very commendable and necessary Virtues in a spiritual Director, even tho’ he should exchange the Shepherd’s Crook for the Gray-Goose Quill.

—Mind how *honestly* eager he is to deter the People from being at the Pains to oppose his Patrons.

† ‘As long as the People shall think their Pretensions to be just and necessary,

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‘ they

' they will never desist from the vain Pursuit ; and as, by this Means, the *Nation* will be harrassed (the Doctor has inserted the Word *Nation* by Mistake ; *Ministry* was that which he intended) with the most fatal and endless Confusions (another Word he mistook for *Opposition*.) — But now comes the unexampled Honesty of the Writer — ' I shall now, with the utmost Candour, Honesty and Truth, endeavour to give them a juister View of those *false Opinions*, which in some very important Points, they so vainly, and yet so passionately entertain ; though it may clash with the popular Opinion, so as to draw down the worst Inconveniences upon myself ; though it may even disgrace the Judgment, or create some unjust Reflections upon the Sincerity of others, as subjecting them to the *Imputation of having maintained Doctrines which were in themselves erroneous, or even such as they knew to be such.* '

What could any Man do more candid or virtuous than to lay himself and his Patrons open to the Inconveniency of public Censure, for the Sake of telling Truth ; for this really is the Case, as will evidently appear by stating the Matter in the true Light. *The People*, says this most sincere Writer, vainly expect the Performance of my Patron's Promises whilst they opposed to get into Employments and Power, because in Fact they promised those Things, which, in themselves are hurtful,

or rather, which they knew to be such at the Time of promising ; and that they may no longer continue in a delusive Expectation, I venture to tell them the whole Truth, though my Patrons may suffer in their Characters by my babbling it out, and I myself may forfeit all Claim to their Protection and the Mitre.—Well, 'tis a sad Thing that a whole People should not be able to see that it would hurt them, to exact a Performance of those Promises made to them by the Doctor's Patrons. Who can help it, if they can't see that *Triennial* Parliaments are more hurtful than *Septennial* ; or that any new Laws to secure them from the Effects of ministerial Power and Corruption, are *unnecessary* and *impracticable*? If a Nation will be blind, and won't be cured, what Pity do they deserve?

We have seen above how the Doctor has attempted the Cure of the Public ; why should not I, who am really not less their Friend, attempt as much ? Our Methods undoubtedly will be different, because we differ in our Opinions of the Distemper. He, like a true *High-German* Professor, will have it, that the People are politically *Plethoric* : I, on the contrary, like a plain *English* Graduate, suppose their Case to be quite the Reverse. *The Power of the People*, says he, *is increased beyond what it ever was.*—*The Ballance of Power undeniably preponderates on the Side of the People* ; therefore, *are their Discontents most unreasonable, unjust and dangerous,*

gerous, for not being indulged with those Laws that they imagine to be necessary for the further Security of their Liberties. — Now, the Doctor thinks, or would persuade us that he does, that the People's Distemper is a Complication of *too great Wealth* and *too much Power*; whereas, in my humble Opinion, the *too great Want of Riches and Power* is their only Disease. No wonder then he advises, and even *adjures* the Nation to go under a Course of a *Land War* against *France*, whilst I advise making an End of one ruinous War before we begin another more ruinous. — The Doctor's Manner of adjuring his *Fellow-Subjects*, I won't say *Countrymen*, because I suppose him to be a *Hanoverian*, either by Birth, Inclination, or Interest, is too curious not to be given in his own Words.

After making a grand Parade of the vast Riches of this Nation, and the mighty Power of the present *Confederacy* against *France*, he goes on (pag. 122.) *we are in a much fairer Situation, if we avail ourselves of it as we ought, than we ever were in any Period of Time.* — Though I have a very high Opinion of our Reverend *Hanoverian's* Parts, and may admit him to be a cunning Shaver as ever attempted to impose on the Public, I cannot help dissenting from his present Hypothesis. I cannot bring myself to think that the Queen of *Hungary* and King of *Sardinia*, the only Allies we have to our Backs

as

as yet, are equal to those we had in our two late Wars with *France*; and on another Account, I may be allowed to think that we are not in *so fair a Situation* as we were in those Days. In the first War, we had a King, an experienced Officer, to command our Army. We have, it is true, a great and good King now, nay, a warlike King too, but we can't say that he has King *William's* Experience. In the last War with that Crown, we had a *Marlborough*, and our Ally the Emperor, had an *Eugene*. Where shall we seek their Equals now? where shall we find Officers equal in Experience to their Aid-de-Camps?—The Doctor may say, they are to be found among his favourite *Hanoverians*; and one would think so from the Partiality shewn to our Mercenaries.—But the main Objection is yet remaining.—At the Beginning of King *William's* War, the Nation was not a Shilling in Debt, paid few Taxes, and had a flourishing Trade: At that of Queen *Anne*, we had a good Trade, tho' not so lucrative as at the *Revolution*; our Taxes, tho' large, were not excessive, and our Debt was but *Eighteen Millions*.—Let us see then how the Case stands at present. Our Allies are few and indigent; they may have Men, but certainly have not Money, the Sinews of War; we have no Generals; our Trade is greatly impaired, our Taxes greatly increased, and we owe above *Fifty Millions*.—If these Pictures of our different

rent Circumstances be drawn to the Life, with what Propriety can the worthy *Levite* assert, that we were never in a fairer Situation for reducing France than we are at present?— I am sorry I should be obliged to break off the Quotation from my learned Friend; but the Information of Readers making such Diggessions necessary, I shall proceed without further Apology.

‘ The only Danger then to which we are now exposed, is from the Wickedness of this *Faction*, and the *Levity* and *Folly* of our own People, who may, by their intemperate Conduct, and Impatience, induce our Ministers to accept of indifferent Terms from *France* (though they know that she now lies in a manner at our Mercy) rather than be compelled, after yet greater and more clear Advantages, to sacrifice still a fairer Prospect.’ — This Rhapsody must certainly have been written immediately after the Affair at *Dettingen*, whilst our Doors and Windows blazed at the joyous Transport of that imaginary Victory; it could never be the Product of a cool reflecting Brain.— *We know that France lies at our Mercy*— upon my Word the Doctor’s Pulse beats too high for one that pretends to Reason and Argument.— But let us give him a full Hearing.

France lying now in a manner at our Mercy.— ‘ Let me therefore adjure my Countrymen, by all that they hold most dear, and

and sacred, not to concur in obstructing, and defeating this glorious Opportunity, which God has thrown before us, which, if properly improved, is the only likely Means to secure us for Ages yet to come (most certainly for many Years) against those Ex- pences that have so long been heavy upon us ; against the Necessity of those standing Armies which are so odious ; and against those Taxes, which, by their necessary Me- thods of their Collection, so greatly, though unavoidably, harrass the People ; which create that Dependency of which they are jealous, and prevent the Diminution of that Debt, which is at present so great a Clog upon our Lands, our Commerce, and our Influence Abroad. —

What a melancholy Portraiture is here drawn of our Circumstances as a Nation, by a Man that *adjures* us to plunge ourselves into an expensive *Land War*? How insulting is it to a People already justly *discontented* and sinking under the Weight of ministerial Oppression, to tell them, that the only Way to *lessen their Burden* is to *increase it*? How despicable an Opinion must he and his *Pa- trons* have of the Understanding of *English- men*, that can hope for their Assent to a *Mea- sure*, which, if taken at this Juncture, must inevitably endanger their Liberties, by add- ing to the Power of the Crown, and by di- verting the public Attention from an *Opposi- tion*, on the Success of which their Safety de-

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pends? — But to hope to persuade us to resign ourselves implicitly, in a Matter of so great Importance, to the Conduct of his *Patrons*, after he owned, *that they had already made us solemn Promises they never intended to perform*, is such a Pattern of priestly Arrogance as the Public has not hitherto been acquainted with. Would not one be inclined to think that these *Cushion-Thwackers*, when they dabble in Politics, are generally seized with some spiritual Stupor? Surely nothing denotes it more, than for a Man to advise a Nation to repose Confidence in a Set of Men that have abused them, tricked them, and now openly insult them, by telling them *they have already more Liberty and Power than they make good Use of or deserve.*

Can it be doubted that the Doctor means this when he roundly tells us, pag. 136. ‘That the Ballance of Power undeniably pre-ponderates on the Side of the People, more than in any former Period of Time; and consequently that their Discontents are most unreasonable, unjust, and dangerous.’ — But he goes yet further, plainly telling us; that if we hunt after any more Laws to secure our Liberties, we shall lose them — (Pag. 122.) ‘Paper Guards of popular Laws, are but palliative and vain Remedies: If carried too far, tend only to aggravate the Differences and Jealousies between Prerogative and Privilege, and may compel Government to invent new Arts of a more secret, and

and consequently of the most dangerous Nature to the Liberties of every Nation.'—A home Push, in Truth! Such a one as I have not seen in Print since the Days of old Cod-piece Harry. Courtly Priests indeed, before the Reformation, were won't to menace the People if they murmured at the Increase and Exercise of the ministerial Power; but ever since the Pride, as well as Errors of Priests, were attempted to be reformed, till now, the People have not been thus threaten'd.

Now that I may prove, beyond all Contradiction, that our Reverend *Detector of Faction*, is as proud and erroneous as any *Levite* before the Reformation ever was in polemical Disputes, I must beg the Reader's Indulgence for a few Calculations, which I have been at the Trouble of making to save him that of long and dull Quotations from our Court Priest, who employs six whole Pages in one Part (from pag. 91. to 97.) and two in another of his Book, to prove that his *Patrons* made a better Bargain for us in hiring our present *Hanoverian* Mercenaries than the Duke of *Marlborough* made for us in 1702. And that I may be warranted in my Calculations, I shall subjoin the very Treaty of Convention made by that great Captain, to these Sheets, by Way of Appendix.— One who ventures, in the Face of the Sun, to impose on a whole Nation, may certainly be deem'd a *proud* Man; and he who asserts

for Truth, Facts that are absolutely false, may as justly be deem'd erroneous.

I shall pass by his fulsome Panegyric, in calling the *Hanoverians* the *best Troops in Europe*, and overwhelming his Majesty with *Adulation* for being so benevolent, as to let himself have his own *Troops*, without a *Subsidy*; all his Pulpit-Flowers I shall overlook to come at the main Point, which is to shew that we have not, by 296,398*l.* Sterling, so good a Bargain now, when the King of *Great Britain*, and the Elector of *Hanover* are the same, as when the Elector of *Hanover* was simply Duke of *Hanover*.

By the Votes of the last Sessions, I find we pay for the 16,000 *Hanoverians* in our Pay, exclusive of all incident Charges during the Campaign, the Sum of 657,888*l.* from the 31st of *August* 1742, to the 25th of *December* 1743, being seventeen Months. Herein be it noted, that we are saddled with two long *Winters* for one Campaign of four Months: But indeed, in this Campaign did the *Hanoverian Artillery do Wonders at Dettingen*, if one of the Doctor's Patrons speak the whole Truth.

Now, by the Convention in 1702, we paid for 30,000 Men of the same Electorate 203,715 *Guilders* a Month, called the *long Month* of forty-two Days. This was clearly what we paid in full of all Demands on Account of *Subsidy*, *Levy-Money*, *Train*, *General Officers*, and, in short, all other Dues and Demands what-

whatever. At this Rate the Pay of the 10,000 Men, from the 31st of *August* in one Year, to the 25th of *December* in the following, being seventeen Calendar Months, tho' but twelve Months six Days of forty-two Days to the Month, came to 2,485,323 *Guilders*, which, at eleven *Guilders* the Pound *Sterling*, amounts to 225,938 *l.* — By an equal Proportion, the Pay of 16,000 Men on the same Terms, and for the same Time, would amount but to 361,490 *l.* Wherefore it is a Demonstration that we now pay 296,398 *l.* more for 16,000 Men of the *Electorate* than we should in 1702, had we taken so many into our Service. The present additional Number of Horse (except an useless Regiment of Horse Guards) for Pay, makes no essential Difference in the Accompt. I compute the Exchange at eleven *Guilders*, a round Sum, to avoid troubling the Reader with Fractions. The Exchange in Fact is about ten *Guilders* eighteen *Stivers* the Pound *Sterling*; so that two *Stivers*, or two *Pence*, in a Pound *Sterling*, either Way, would make no Variation worth taking Notice of in such a Contest as the present.

By the *Saving Agreement* in 1742,

we pay for 16,000 *Hanoverians* 657,888 *l.*

By the *Convention* in 1702, we

should have paid for the like

Number but - - - - - 361,490 *l.*

The Nation therefore is B—b—'d

out of - - - - - - - 296,398 *l.*

Over

Over and above the aforesaid Sum, which is a clear Loss to the Nation, as it goes into the Pockets of Foreigners, there is another of 9868 £ in the Difference of Exchange, to the Loss of the Public, tho' sunk partly in the Pockets of *Englishmen*, which, added to the above Sum, amount together to 306,266 £. But, before I proceed, it will be necessary to prove this last Sum to have been purloin'd from the Publick in the Bargain for the *Remittance*, as well as the other in that for the *Pay* of the Troops.

When Troops are to be supplied abroad, the Government agrees for the Remittance of the Money to be supplied at a certain Price, for some fix'd Time. Pursuant to this Method, the Treasury agreed with Mr. *Gore*, April 10, 1742, to supply Money in *Holland*, at the Rate of ten *Guilders* eleven *Stivers* and a half *per Pound Sterling* current Money; but finding that another offered to do it cheaper, he advanced his Price to ten *Guilders* thirteen *Stivers*, the 27th of *July* following. All this Time, by the Course of the Exchange, the *Pound Sterl.* was worth ten *Guild.* eighteen *Stiv.* But I contend not for all this Difference, which would make the Loss to the Public to be near 20,000 £. I confine myself simply to the Offer made by Mr. *Mulman* and Company, to remit at ten *Guild.* sixteen *Stiv.* which, according to the *Pay-Master's Report* to the Treasury, Jan. 11, 1742-3, made a Difference, in favour of the Public,

Public, of *One and a Half* per Cent.—*The other Offer*, says the Pay-Master, *at ten Guild. fifteen Stiv.* which is *One and a Half* more to the Advantage of the Public, &c.—This was the Offer made by Mr. *Mulman*, and the Contract with Mr. *Gore* was first but at ten *Guild. eleven Stiv.* and a Half, and has been ever since, and is now at *ten Guild. thirteen Stiv.* only.—This Difference then between 13 and 16 *Stiv.* which the Pay-Master says is a Difference of *One and a Half* to the Disadvantage of the Public, is that which I add, amounting upon 657,888 *l.* the Pay of 16,000 mercenary *Hanoverians*, to 9868 *l.* This last Sum, I say, added to 296,398 *l.* the overplus Pay as aforesaid, compleats the Sum of 306,266 *l.* which the Nation loses by the Partiality of our Ministers to the *Hanoverian Interest*.—But if, in this single Article, the Loss to the Nation be so great and visible, what must it be in the Management of *Seven Millions* granted for the Service of the current Year? And does not this Consideration, among many others of no less Importance, justify the present *public Discontent*?

A late ingenious and candid Author, speaking of the Oeconomy of the new Ministry in this Bargain of the Remittance, particularly expresses himself pathetically to the following Purpose.—‘ After a twenty Years Up-hill Opposition, we made a Shift at last to gain the Top, and from thence entertained ourselves with a Prospect of the promised Land,

Land, Grievances redressed, the Constitution restored, and a Change of Measures as well as Names; for the one without the other never was, nor will be, worthy the Attention of the People, but will, at all Times, instead of pacifying, serve only to inflame and provoke them.

But the Prospect was all we were indulged with, and the Possession seems to be as remote as ever, — unless the Genius of the Nation exert itself in Support of a legal *Opposition* to all Ministerial Arts.

In plain *English*, the State is hacked and mangled with worse *Tools*; and those Actions, which the late Ministry, with all their Abilities, could not excuse, tho' they always endeavoured it, the present have countenanced, by committing worse, in the open Sun-shine, in Defiance alike of Censure and Punishment. — In their Management of foreign Affairs this is self-evident, and every Day's Experience, and particularly that of their Conduct during the *late Campaign*, renders Argument, Expostulation, and even Ridicule, unnecessary.

When these *new Men* came first into Power, whatever Opinion the Publick entertained of their Integrity, no Question was made but that they would behave so as to preserve Appearances at least; nor could it enter into the most suspicious Head, that all the popular Points which they had been talking up for so many Years, and which had talked them into

to *Office*, they would not only drop, but talk against, as soon as that great Point was carried.

How would this honest Man have inveighed against these *Proteus*, if my Doctor's *Apology* for them had appeared before he wrote? Had he seen this public *Vindication* of public *Perfidy*, had he seen them employ an ambitious *Priest* to insult the People whom they have deceived, by telling them, *They have more Power than they ever had, and more than they make a good Use of*; had he seen likewise this proud *Levite* ordered by them to justify a *Bargain* for *Mercenaries*, which the Nation are convinced to be a partial one, and to advise a *War* with *France*, which all Mankind know to be calculated solely for the *Meridian* of the *Cabinet*; had, I say, that worthy Man seen this *voluminous Ministerial Attempt* to cajole, deceive, seduce and insult an over-burdened, injured People, he would have used the Doctor and his *Patrons* more rigorously, though more justly, than I shall: And that I may not exceed in the Scheme of *Lenity* I proposed to myself at first setting out, I here take my *Leave* of the Doctor and his *Volume*, to pursue my first *Intention*, which was to shew, that the most important *Whig* Measures of all our *Ministers* since the *Accession* particularly, and even since the *Revolution*, were such as every good *Englishman* ought to have opposed; and to manifest, that those nominal *Whigs* that concurred with them were no

Whigs in Fact, and that those nominal *Tories*, who opposed them, were really *Whigs* and *Patriots*.

The Doctor and his Patrons, according to Custom, won't fail, I suppose, to call me a *Tory*, perhaps a *Jacobite*, or a *Republican*, for an Attempt of this Kind; but, as I look upon such an Enquiry to be indispensably necessary at this Time, and upon myself to have the Right of an *Englishman* to speak such Truths, the Suppression of which may affect my Country. I trouble not myself about what the secret Enemies of *England* may think or say of me. Let me however add, that if all our Ministers, for fifty Years past, had been as zealous as I am for the *Revolution* and *Accession*, there had been no Need of such an Enquiry as the following; but most of them, and I, differ very widely; they were nominal *Whigs* only, I am truly one.

If the servile Obsequiousness of such nominal *Whigs* as have been in Power since the *Revolution* be considered, it will be no Wonder why they have been cherished and employed preferable to their more stubborn Fellow Subjects, the nominal *Tories*. Men who will flatter and obey *implicately*, will be always first in the Confidence of a Court that has a separate Interest from that of the People. But is Adulation and Cringing to such a Court so meritorious, as that a wise People should intrust their Liberties and Properties to such venal Men, whilst there are others in the

the Nation who have the Advantage at least of never having betrayed? Would a private Man, of ever so moderate Sense, put himself, his Fortune and Family, in the Power of one that had betrayed all who had confided in him? And would, therefore, a wise People risque their Liberties and Properties in such Hands as have been known to have sacrificed every thing to *private Interest*, as often as they had been vested with Power?

If it be doubted that the *Whigs*, so called, have constantly dropt the Public to increase the Power of the Crown, whenever they were employed; or that the *Tories*, so called, supported the Rights and Interests of the People when in and out of Power, let the Conduct of both be scrutinized and examined. Yet let me repeat, that I intend no general Reflection on *Whigs*, nor general Compliment to *Tories*. I honour any Man that is a Friend to Liberty and his Country, and abominate him who sacrifices both to the Smiles of a Court, the Possession of a Place, or to *Self interest* in any Shape or Sense. The first is a true *Patriot*, the latter a *Pericide*, let him be *Whig* or *Tory*, or whatever other Appellation he pleases to assume. What I contend for is, that, for above half a Century, those improperly called *Tories* have, in general, been the warmest Asserters of the People's *Liberties* in every Shape; and those, as improperly called *Whigs*, have constantly, when in Power, been the boldest Invaders of the

People's Liberties and Properties, in every Instance and every Reign.—A Man must be quite ignorant of what passes in his own Time, and of the History of the three immediate preceding Reigns, to doubt or impugn the Truth of this Assertion.

We owe so much to King *William*, that I would willingly draw a Veil over every Error of his whole Reign; but since absolute Silence would call my Impartiality in question, I shall only say, that all the Struggles for a *standing Army* during that Reign, and Struggles there were every Session, were by those who assumed the Name of *Whigs*, and were constantly opposed by those who were branded with the Name of *Tories*. The *Partition Treaty* in that Reign, which has produced most of the Evils we have felt ever since, was the Handywork of *Whig* Ministers, whom a *Tory* House of Commons had endeavoured to punish, and would, if the Regal Screen had not interposed. But if *Corruption* could be carried higher than in pushing every Year for a *standing Army*, and advising the *Partition Treaty*, it was in projecting *Anticipations*, an Invention wholly owing to the nominal *Whig* Ministers of that Reign. This was the fatal Scheme, by which the Power of the Crown is become so dreadful; this is that by which Ministers have been able to corrupt the Legislature, the *Fountain-head* of all our Happiness. Without *Anticipations* we had owed no Debts; and without Debts and Taxes,

Taxes, which create Places and Salaries, the Ministerial Influence had been a Dwarf, compared to the gigantic Size to which it is grown since the Revolution, that is, since the nominal *Whigs* have projected *Anticipations* in order to create a national Debt, which should be a Pledge for the Affections of the People. This Maxim of tying down a Nation to Passiveness, by a perpetual *Mortgage* upon their *Fortunes*, is destructive of every Notion of *Freedom*, and has been already destructive of our Trade and Industry.

Q. *Anne* came to the Crown without a Possibility of being able to avoid a Land War, which had been concerted and resolved by her Predecessor; she had, however, a Prospect of Success, which we have not at present, having almost all the principal Powers of *Europe* confederated with her. This War having ingrossed the Attention of the Cabinet, we find few or no Attacks upon Liberty while it lasted. But be it always remembered, that the principal Ministers in that Reign were nominal *Tories*. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had been deemed rank *Tories* before the *Revolution*, continued to be deemed so all King *William*'s Reign, yet acted all along upon the soundest Principles of *Whiggism*.—Lord *Oxford*, who presided towards the Close of the Queen's Reign, was called a *Tory*; but did he not act upon *Whig* Principles? He advised a Peace, because he saw his Country would be quite ruined

ruined by the Continuance of a Land War, even successful as it was; But did he not consult the Welfare, and even the *Freedom* of the Subject, in putting an End to a War that had already incumbered the Nation with above fifty Millions, and which must necessarily increase the Debt, should it continue, beyond a Possibility of being discharged? No sooner was this War at an End, but he reduced the Army to 8000 Men, tho' obviously against his own private Interest, and that Scheme said to have been taken in favour of the Pretender. With regard to this last Point, if the Queen had really entertained any favourable Thoughts of that Prince's succeeding her, I will boldly say, that Lord *Oxford* was the Man who found Means to wean her from them, or to thwart all Projects tending to prejudice the Succession of the present Royal Family. — To view then in every Light the main Conduct of the *Tory* Ministers in Queen *Anne*'s Reign, it must be admitted indisputably, that they had nothing of the *Tory* about them but the Name. They were not the more Enemies to *Whiggish* Principles for being Friends to the *Church*. The being a Dissenter does not constitute a Man a *Whig* any more than being a Churchman constitutes him a *Tory*. That there have been Dissenters, and of the most rigid Sort too, who were *Jacobites*, is a Truth as well known as that there are Churchmen who would spill the last Drop of their Blood to support the Succession,

sion. Therefore, to judge of them by Names and Appellations given them by their Enemies, or bestowed upon them, because their Ancestors were of this or that Party formerly, is most fallacious and injurious.

The Accession of the present royal Family no sooner took Place than nominal *Whig* Ministers had projected two *Schemes* equally destructive in their Nature and Consequence to this Nation. One was to enlarge the Dominions of *Hanover*, the other, to increase the Power and Strength of the Crown here at Home. Both Schemes have succeeded, but very unhappily for these Nations. In Consequence of the first Scheme, concerted solely to ingratiate themselves to the *new King*, the Ministers at one Blow ruined our Trade to the *Baltick*, by declaring War against *Sweden*, to favour the King of *Denmark*, that had sold *Bremen* and *Verden* to *Hanover*, and to force *Sweden* to ratify the Sale. This last Point was no sooner gained than our Ministers had an Eye to *Mecklenburgh* to compleat the Electorate on that Side; or as the Reverend *Detector* phrases it, in order to the *Arondisment* of the Electorate. The *Czar Peter I.* obstructing this Enlargement, our nominal *Whigs*, in Consequence of the Ratification of the Purchase of *Bremen* and *Verden*, by *Sweden*, broke with *Russia*. Thus, for the *Arondisment* of the Electorate, had our Ministers made alternate Wars upon the principal Powers in the North,

to

to the Prejudice of the Trade and Interest of these Nations.

But this was not all in order to the Execution of the Scheme for aggrandizing the Electorate; the House of *Austria* must be weakened, and that of *Bourbon* strengthened: The Head of the Empire, was too powerful for *H——r*, tho' not for *Britain*. He might obstruct a farther Increase of the Dominions and Power of the Electorate; and did not seem to approve of the late Purchases. In this View the *Quadruple Alliance* was entered into, which had embroiled us ever since with *Spain*, by encouraging her Views upon *Italy*, and which, notwithstanding, according to the aforesaid Author, too truly *had disgusted both the Emperor and Spain*.

Pursuant to the second Scheme, a Rebellion was secretly encouraged; without which there had not been a Pretext for those Armies, those Expences, and those Laws that have been loudly complained of by all true *Whigs* since the Year 1715, and sorely felt by the whole Nation. That the Rebellion of 1715 was encouraged underhand by the Men in Power in those Days, is now as well known, as it is notorious that it might have been quelled in its Infancy, before any Party was formed, or a Drop of Blood spilt, if the Court had been inclined, and had not had the secret Views of suffering it to go to a certain Height, that there might appear a specious Colour for those Laws, that Army, and

and that Expence, which had been projected before and have continued ever since.

To these first nominal *Whig* Ministers then of the late King's Reign, do we owe in Consequence of these deep-laid Schemes, our alternate Wars with *Sweden* and *Muscovy*, foreign Subsidies, and Pay to foreign Troops, a Coolness with the Emperor, a Warmth for *France*, a Dissolution of the Harmony subsisting between this Nation and all the Members of the late general Confederacy, the *Septennial Act*, the *Riot Act*, a thousand coercive Clauses in other Acts, a vast annual Expence, a Continuance of our Debts and Taxes, an Increase of the regal and ministerial Power and a standing Army.

To the succeeding nominal *Whig* Counsellors to the late King, which were mostly the same Men, we owe all the Trouble and Expence we have been put to by *Spain* in Consequence of destroying their naval Force in 1718; to them we owe all the dire Calamities that have attended the *South-Sea* Scheme; In their Time was the famous Promise made to restore *Gibraltar*; they are chargeable with the Non-Acceptance of the sole Mediation at *Cambray*, which threw *Spain* into the late Emperor's Arms, and *England* into the friendly Arms of *France*. Taxes, a standing Army, secret Service, new Grants to the civil List, the Continuance of our Debts and Cloggs upon Trade, coercive Laws, and every other & *cætera* of

a slavish Administration went forward as in the foregoing Ministry. Ought not the nominal *Tories* be forgiven and even applauded for opposing Ministries that are now universally allowed to have had the Interest of *Hanover* constantly in View? Ministries, by being now fully known, are generally detected.

After these, Sir *R——W——* was brought in to screen the Projectors of the *South-Sea Scheme*; how he answered the End of his Admission is as well known, as that, by the famous *Bank Contract*, he ruined as many innocent People as the *Squib-Sea Scheme* had not undone. So much has been said already of this long Administration, so much is known of it, so loudly has it been complained of, and so universally is it condemned, that it would be needless to enumerate the several destructive Measures of it. It is sufficient that in every Light, in all Shapes, and on all Occasions, the *Interests* of this Nation were constantly sacrificed to that of the Electorate, and to private Self-Interest. Is other Proof than general Accusation necessary against a Man publicly condemned? Here it is from the Author of *Faction Detected*, who seems willing enough to excuse this Minister, whom his *Patrons* have screened and saved from Punishment on other Occasions.

* * To this (that is as he calls it) the flagitious *Hanover Treaty*) were added such a Series of *Mis-takes*, and such unfortunate Events, as brought the Interests of all our Allies, and consequently the Interests of *Britain* into the utmost Danger, the *Minister* still blundering on, not able to make a Peace, nor to carry on a War—Harrassing the Country by great and fruitless Expences, to provide Forces against Events, which were neither sufficient to answer the End, and which he never had Resolution to employ towards the End—Bubbled by *France*, insulted by *Spain*, hated by the Public. —The same

Author

Author informs us, that this *hated Minister*, this *bubbled*, this *insulted*, this *pusillanimous*, this *corrupt Minister*, who, tho' he went into every weak and destructive Measure, yet had the Confidence of two successive *Princes*, and the *Approbation* and *Sanction* of *Parliament*, for upwards of twenty Years together; the Doctor informs us, I say, that this obnoxious wicked Minister was a *Whig*.—The *Doctor* is giving a Detail of the *Hanover Treaty*, by which, he says (pag. 17.) ‘We have seen *France* preserved, and the ‘House of *Austria* confederated against by its natural ‘and old Ally *Great Britain*;’ we have seen the same affected by the *Pusillanimity* of a *Whig Minister*.

Just such a *Whig* is the Doctor and his *Patrons*, who cloath themselves with an *Appellation* they have no more Title to than those in the present *Opposition* to them, have to that of *Tory*, *Jacobite* or *Republican*.—The late Minister a *Whig*!—I wonder the Doctor would own a Man, who, as a Minister, was a Scandal to the Name of *Whig*, to be of the Party. But I suppose, it was for his Purpose, because elsewhere, he owns his *Patrons* had saved him, because the blood-thirsty *Tories*, as he calls them, would have put him to Death because he was a *Whig*. Here we may see how the Nation is bubbled by Party Denominations and Distinctions, which however have no determinate Meaning, nor any at all but what weak or wicked Men impute to them. A wise People that had smarted for adhering to *Names* more than *Measures*; a People, who would fix their own and the Happiness and Safety of posterity upon a lasting Foundation, would loath the Man that should attempt reviving any Distinction of Parties. Such a one, his *Patrons*, and their Party should be held in the utmost Abhorrence by a Nation, who know from Experience, that such Distinctions are always made with a View to private Interest, and to delude and deceive. What else but to deceive and delude; what else but Self-Interest induces the Doctor

tor and his Patrons to revive Distinctions at this critical Juncture, and to impute disaffected Principles to those worthy Men who oppose them? Is it not to draw off the Attention of the Public from their own Conduct, more unjustifiable, if possible, than that of the late Minister? Is it not in order to wear off the public *Odium* from themselves that they endeavour to fix it on those who oppose them?—But surely we are not such insensible Instruments as to permit wicked Men to wind us up at Pleasure, and play such Tunes upon us, as best suits with their own private Views?— Shall we be made the Property of Men who have most shamefully deceived us, Men, so destitute of all Modesty, as to own, *they had made us Promises they never intended to keep*, Men, who say we are *too happy and free*, and who assert, *it would be dangerous to trust us with more Power than we have*.—‘ He must be *mad or worse*, says he, Page 76. who will yield *one single Point*, which they (the People) never receive with Gratitude, but attribute always to themselves; and consider, as extorted by Force, an Evidence of their own Power, an Imbecility in Government, and an Encouragement to all Intemperance.’

What have these *new Men* done for us either at Home or Abroad, that should blunt the Edge of publick Resentment against them? How have they endeavoured to remove the *public Discontent*? Have they not raised more Money upon us than ever was known in so short a Time; and what Returns have they made us? At Home, they have screen'd the wicked *Object* of public Hatred, prevented an Enquiry into the *State of the Nation*, obstructed all Motions for the Security of our *Freedom*, and attempted to inflame us by reviving Party Distinctions, that they themselves might be overlooked in the Ferment.

What have they done for us Abroad? They have wholly neglected a just and necessary *War*, and endeavoured

deavoured to plunge us into a ruinous, and I may say an unjust War, as they would senselessly proceed. But how have they managed this unmeaning War, in which they have not hitherto let us know whether they act as Auxiliaries or Principals? What has been the Success of a *Campaign* that has cost us above *four Millions* extraordinary? The late Minister spent his Millions at Home, but his Successors squander them Abroad, as the shortest and surest Road to impoverish us. Is the Escape at *Dettingen* a Compensation for so immense a Treasure as has been spent, irrecoverably lost to this Nation, this Summer on the Continent? Is marching to *Spire* and back again; *going up the Hill and coming down*, any Atonement for the Treasure exhausted? Is levelling *Lines* the *French* had abandoned; and not daring to attack those which they defended, any Signs of the Wisdom of the Conductor or of the Courage of our Commanders in the Field? Or does the Plan of Operation of the Campaign prove the Wisdom of our Councils? In short, has any one Measure of the *Cabinet*, or Step in the Field been taken or made of late, that should lessen the *public Discontent*, or induce the People to drop an *Opposition* carried on, for the glorious Purpose of *Liberty*, by the best Men of all Parties, against the worst of one Party?

To use the *Detector's* Phrase, who *adjures Englishmen* to shut their Eyes and fold their Arms whilst his *Patrons* pick their Pockets, let me conclude in *adjudging* my Countrymen, to discourage all Party Distinctions for the Sake of Union; to drown all Animosities on the Score of religious Disputes, or even political; to unite against Men that have deceived them in Favour of such as have not.—To adopt another Phrase of the reverend ministerial Champion, *we must be mad or worse, if we yield one Point*, to Men that glory to have deluded us, and who, being sensible of having lost the public Confidence by their ill Conduct,

Conduct, have now no other Way of securing themselves from national Resentment, but by curtailing the People's Power, increasing that of the Crown, and precipitating the Nation into some desperate Measure, such as a *French War*, which must necessarily impoverish a *discontented People*, that they may the easier be broke to Slavery and Chains.

A P P E N D I X.

Treaty between Queen *Anne of Great Britain*, and the House of *Lunenburg*, concluded at the *Hague*, June 21. 1702.

ANNE, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Person and Persons to whom these Presents come, greeting. Whereas the following Convention has been concluded and signed at the *Hague*, the 21st of this present Month of *June*, N. S. between the most serene and most high Princes, the Elector and the Duke of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, for a Supply of *Ten thousand Men*.

CONVENTION between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, and their Electoral and most serene Highnesses of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, for a Supply of *10,000 Men*.

I. **T**HEIR Electoral and most serene Highnesses, the Elector and Duke of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, promise to furnish her Majesty, the Queen of *Great Britain*, for the Service of the common Cause, this Campaign, with a Body of Troops to consist of *10,000 Men*, *Part of which Number is arrived on the lower Rhine*, and the rest actually on the March, to follow them with all possible Diligence.

II. Her Majesty shall cause the said auxiliary Troops to be paid and maintained after the Rate of *700 Horsie*, in two Regiments of Cavalry, and *9,300 Foot*, in *12 Regiments of Infantry*, according to the Establishment of the Troops of their Electoral and most serene Highnesses

nesses in the Service of the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*; and their *Wages* and *extraordinary Emoluments* shall amount, by the *long Month* of six Weeks, or 42 Days, according to the *Estimate* annexed to this Convention, to the Sum of 203,715 * *Livres, 8 Sous* ¹ *Dutch Money*, which shall be paid at *Rotterdam* every *Fortnight* regularly, computing from the first Day of this instant *June, N. S.* Those Troops shall enjoy in every thing else, without *Exception*, the same *Advantages, Benefits, Favours and Conveniences*, as the Troops of their *Electoral and most serene Highnesses* have in the Service of their *High Mightinesses*.

III. Those auxiliary Troops shall be received on the *Frontiers* of the *States General* by her *Majesty's Commissioner*, and shall then take the *Oath* to her.

IV. Whereas, according to the second Article, her *Majesty* is only to pay the *Cavalry* after the *Rate* of two *Regiments*, consisting of 700 *Horse*, *notwithstanding there is a much greater Number*, which only passes in the *Pay as Foot*; 'tis agreed on both *Sides*, that their *Electoral and most serene Highnesses* may, at *Pleasure*, change for *Infantry* such a *Number* of this *Body of Cavalry* as is over and above the two *Regiments*, which are both together to consist of 700 *Horse*.

V. Their *Electoral and most serene Highnesses* reserve to themselves the *Liberty* of recalling those Troops, either the *whole* or *part*, in case that they are attacked in the *Dominions* which they possess; and her *Majesty* consents to this *Reservation*. And in order to facilitate their *Return* in such *Cases*, they shall not be removed to any great *Distance* from the *lower Rhine*.

VI. *Deserters* shall be reclaimed reciprocally, and restored *bona fide*, without any *Restitution of Charge or Expences*. And forasmuch as it often happens to be a *Dispute*, whether the *Persons* reclaimed can be reputed

* *Guilder*s and *Stivers*, *current Money*.

reputed Deserters or not, there shall not be Occasion for any other Proofs or Form of Proceeds than to find People of this Sort in other Bodies, without Leave in Writing from their Commanders.

VII. Tho' this Convention is only made provisionally for this Campaign, 'tis designed in the mean time to form a more particular one, and for a longer Term; consequently 'tis supposed those Troops will not be obliged to go home after the Campaign is ended. But if it should happen so, contrary to Expectation, they shall be sent back by the 15th of *November*, or by the End of that Month at farthest, without any Abatement of the Wages promised by the second Article till the End of the Year; to the Intent, that what shall then be the Residue may serve for defraying the Charges of their painful March in that bad Season, according to Custom, and according to all Conventions of the same Kind, which their Electoral and serene Highnesses have hitherto made with the States General; consequently what remains due to them at their Departure of the Payment stipulated above in the second Article, shall then be advanced immediately beforehand to the Year's End.

VIII. The Ratifications of the present Convention shall be exchanged here in four Weeks, or sooner, if possible. Done between the underwritten, the Earl of *Marlborough*, Embassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from her Majesty the Queen of *Great Britain*, and the Baron *de Bothmar*, Plenipotentiary of their Electoral and most serene Highnesses of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, at the *Hague*, the 21st of *June*, 1702.

(L.S.) MARLBOROUGH.
(L.S.) *De BOTHMAR.*